

Message Text

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DRAFTED BY AF:WESCHAUFLE, JR.

APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY

S/S-O: P. JOHNSON

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ACCRA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MOSGADISCIO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 012770

NODIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, AO, US, OAU, SU, TZ, GM, ET, SO

SUBJECT: ANGOLA: CONTINUING DIALOGUE WITH CHIEFS-OF-STATE

FOR AMBASSADOR ONLY

1. ALTHOUGH YOUR HOST GOVERNMENTS HAVE RECOGNIZED MPLA IN ANGOLA WE UNDERSTAND, WITH POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF NIGERIA, THAT THEY EXHIBITED MORE WILLINGNESS THAN OTHER PRO-MPLA AFRICANS TO FIND COMPROMISE IN OAU WHICH COULD HAVE REINJECTED AFRICAN ELEMENT INTO ANGOLAN QUESTION.

2. THEREFORE YOU SHOULD SEEK IMMEDIATE APPOINTMENT WITH CHIEF OF STATE OR HIGHEST APPROPRIATE AUTHORITY TO STATE:

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-- A) AS USG HAS REITERATED AS RECENTLY AS SECRETARY'S PRESS CONFERENCE JANUARY 14 AND IN MEETING WITH AFRICAN CHIEFS OF MISSION JANUARY 15 IT IS PRIMARILY CONCERNED WITH AN AFRICAN SOLUTION TO ANGOLAN PROBLEM AND THE ELIMINATION OF FOREIGN INTERVENTION. IT IS INTERNATIONALIZATION OF CONFLICT WHICH HAS IMPEDED

AFRICAN SOLUTION WHICH WE THINK POSSIBLE.

-- B) DESPITE FACT THAT HOST GOVERNMENT HAS RECOGNIZED MPLA WE HAVE PERCEIVED IN OUR TALK WITH YOUR REPRESENTATIVES INTEREST IN A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION WHICH TAKES ALL FACTORS INTO CONSIDERATION RATHER THAN SIMPLY - WHICH FACTION SHOULD RULE ANGOLA.

-- C) WE HAVE NO INTERESTS IN ANGOLA. OUR STATEMENTS REFLECT THIS AND OUR LIMITED ACTIONS DEMONSTRATE THAT OUR AIMS ARE LIMITED TO PROMOTING AND ENCOURAGING A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION.

-- D) THE SOVIET INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA RAN COUNTER TO DETENTE SINCE IT DID NOT REPRESENT SIMPLY AID TO A "NATIONAL LIBERATION" MOVEMENT BUT RATHER AN EFFORT TO IMPOSE A PARTICULAR FACTION IN THE POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD. WE CONSIDER THIS INTERVENTION IN AN INTERNAL POLITICAL POWER STRUGGLE A VERY BAD PRECEDENT WITH POTENTIAL DANGEROUS IMPLICATIONS FOR DETENTE POLICY AND FOR PEACE. TO HAVE FAILED TO REACT COULD ONLY ENCOURAGE A REPETITION OF SUCH DANGEROUS BEHAVIOR.

-- E) IT IS PRECISELY BECAUSE WE DO NOT DESIRE TO IMPOSE SUPER-POWER CONFLICTS IN AFRICA BUT RATHER SEEK TO END FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT AND RETURN THE ANGOLAN PROBLEM TO THE AFRICANS FOR A SOLUTION THAT WE ARE SO DISTURBED BY THE SOVIET AND CUBAN DECISION TO SEND AN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE TO AFRICA.

-- F) WE ARE NOT OPPOSED TO MPLA PER SE.

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-- G) WE ARE AWARE OF THE STRONG AFRICAN FEELING ON SOUTH AFRICAN INVOLVEMENT AND, AS PART OF AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT, WE ARE WILLING TO ENCOURAGE THE SOUTH AFRICANS TO LEAVE ANGOLA BEFORE A CUBAN/SOVIET WITHDRAWAL, AS LONG AS THE LATTER FOLLOWS SOON THEREAFTER. WE ARE OPPOSED TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN INVOLVEMENT. (THIS STATEMENT WAS REITERATED BY THE SECRETARY TO THE AFRICAN AMBASSADORS ON JANUARY 15).

5. YOU SHOULD DRAW ON SECRETARY'S PRESS CONFERENCE
OF JANUARY 14 (STATE 10223) TO SUPPLEMENT ABOVE.

6. FOR LAGOS: IN VIEW OF ERRATIC NIGERIAN BEHAVIOR
ON THIS ISSUE WE LEAVE IT TO YOUR DISCRETION
WHETHER TO MAKE ABOVE DEMARCHE AND IN WHAT FORM. KISSINGER

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